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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

JANUARY MEETING, 1906.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 11th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the President, CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL.D., in the chair.

In the absence of the Recording Secretary, Mr. HENRY W. HAYNES was chosen Secretary *pro tempore*.

The record of the December meeting was read and approved; and the Librarian submitted the list of donors to the Library during the month, adding that the volume of facsimiles, etc., given by Mr. William A. Courtenay, late a Corresponding Member, had been returned to him at his request and in accordance with the advice of the Council.

The PRESIDENT announced the resignation of the Rev. Dr. Edward J. Young as Recording Secretary, on account of inability to discharge the duties of the office to his own satisfaction, and said:—

I am unwilling to have the resignation of Dr. Young acted upon, and his successor chosen, without putting on record my sense of the obligation the Society is under to Dr. Young for long and faithful service as its Recording Secretary. First chosen at the April meeting of 1883, he was last April chosen for the twenty-third time. He has therefore sat at our meetings by the side of three Presidents,—Mr. Winthrop for two years, Dr. Ellis for over nine, and the present occupant of this chair for nearly eleven. The Society has, I believe, in the course of its century and fifteen years of

existence, enjoyed the services of some twelve or more Recording Secretaries, and of these, five, Dr. James Freeman, Dr. Charles Lowell, Joseph Willard, the late Charles Deane, and now Dr. Young, served by successive annual elections each for nine years or more; but the service of Dr. Young was longest of all, exceeding that of Secretary Willard (1835-1857) by eleven months. For more than a decennium he and I at these meetings have sat side by side,—he much more regular in attendance than I, for my absences have been frequent and long continued; but during all that period I do not recall a single occasion when a Secretary *pro tempore* had to be chosen. Dr. Young has been uniformly present, with his record ready for submission. Unassuming, gentle, always considerate and courteous, never aggressive, he has been to the Society a model Recording Secretary, and his absence from his accustomed place will be to all matter of deep regret, and to none deeper than to me.

On motion of Mr. Barrett Wendell, seconded by Mr. Thomas Minns, it was unanimously

Resolved, That, in accepting the resignation of the Rev. Edward J. Young, D.D., as Recording Secretary, after more than twenty-two years of continuous and faithful service, the Society desires to record its grateful sense of the manner in which he has so long fulfilled the duties of his office, and its regret that he now feels compelled to relinquish them.

The PRESIDENT then said :

Having considered the matter of a successor to Mr. Young, the Council instructs me to present the name of Mr. Edward Stanwood. It is customary at our Annual Meetings to elect all officers by ballot. A *viva voce* choice, on nomination, would probably not be open to objection; but, to comply with form and custom, it has been suggested that the Secretary *pro tempore* be instructed to cast one ballot for Recording Secretary, that ballot bearing the name of Mr. Stanwood. This can, of course, only be done by general consent. Should any one present express a desire for a ballot, it will be ordered.

No member requesting a ballot, the Secretary *pro tempore* cast one ballot for Edward Stanwood as Recording Secretary; and Mr. Stanwood was declared elected.

The President submitted a memorial to Congress relative to the preservation of the frigate "Constitution," which had been adopted by the Council in accordance with a vote of the Society at its last meeting. The memorial is as follows:—

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States:—

The undersigned, the Council of the Massachusetts Historical Society, acting under its instructions, again memorialize your Honorable Bodies in regard to the United States frigate "Constitution," and the disposition to be made of that historic vessel.

A copy of a previous memorial on the same subject, heretofore submitted by us under similar conditions, is hereto appended, and to it we respectfully call your attention.

In the annual report of the Secretary of the Navy recently submitted, it is, however, stated that the vessel now lying at Charlestown is, because of repeated renewals, not the historic "Constitution," or "the vessel with which Hull captured the 'Guerrière,'" and that to hold her forth as such is a case of "false pretences"; that, if repaired and put in commission, "she would be absolutely useless"; and, finally, that thus to restore her would be "a perfectly unjustifiable waste of public money." She should therefore be broken up, or, as an alternative, knocked to pieces and sunk as something of no further practical use, — what is designated as "a maritime end" being thus, "for purely sentimental reasons," conceded her.

Your Memorialists do not propose to argue these several points; we confine ourselves to protesting earnestly against them, and, one and all, denying them. If the vessel now moored at the Charlestown dock is not the historic frigate "Constitution," then the Society for which we speak is not the Massachusetts Historical Society; for it was organized six years before the "Constitution" was launched, and the last survivor of our original members died sixty-five years ago; five times has the Society changed its habitation; it has hardly a thing in possession which belonged to it in 1792 or in 1812; its very name has undergone legal alteration. Yet we hold it needless to argue that, through constant renewal and by unbroken succession, this Society is the Massachusetts Historical Society of 1791, and it is assuredly so regarded. We would look upon a denial of our identity as, at least, ill considered. It is in no respect otherwise in the case of the "Constitution."

The assertion, officially made, that the present ship if rebuilt on her old lines would, when completed, "be absolutely useless" is scarcely less matter of surprise. Her sister frigate of exactly coeval build, the "Constellation," has recently been repaired, and is now used as a training ship attached to the Naval War College at Newport; while another similar ship, now called the "Severn," but until recently bearing the

ill-omened name of "Chesapeake," is in commission and connected with the Naval Academy at Annapolis. Formerly the "Constitution" was so attached to the Academy, and a distinguished admiral, still on the active list, has recently testified to the "intense interest" she excited in him when as a boy he for months lived aboard her. Why, then, it is pertinent to ask, should not the single symbolic "fighting frigate" of our earlier Navy, around which associations cluster, be restored, put in commission and used to replace the "Constellation" or the "Severn," formerly the "Chesapeake," to which vessels comparatively little historic interest, and, in the case of the last, less than no patriotic sentiments attach? Why should they be repaired and maintained, and the "Constitution" utilized as a "target"?

If to repair and maintain the "Constitution" would be an "unjustifiable waste" of the public money of the United States, what can be said on behalf of the "Victory," and the outlay she entails on the British exchequer? That Nelson's flagship, which so proudly broke the opposing line at Trafalgar seven years before the "Constitution" called down the flag of the "Guerrière," should now be towed to sea and practised at as a target by modern ironclads would, as a suggestion from the Admiralty Board, not only shock the public opinion of Great Britain but be resented as an outrage, or at best an unseemly levity. Are Americans less susceptible to sentiment, patriotism, and gratitude than their cousins across the sea? To-day, a century after Nelson died in her cockpit, the "Victory," cherished by Great Britain as one of the most precious relics of her sea glories, is annually visited by scores of thousands of all nations. So, as the long record of those who flock to see her bears witness, the "Constitution" is in no less degree an inspiration to Americans. They feel towards her as towards a sentient being; for, in one short half-hour, in a time of deepest gloom, her broadsides elevated the United States from being an unconsidered people beyond the sea into respect as a confessed world-power. She then did for us more than the "Victory" ever did for England.

Therefore, in the name and on behalf of the Society we represent, we renew the prayer embodied in the accompanying Memorial of 1903. We ask that immediate action be taken to the end that the course pursued by the British Admiralty as respects the line-of-battle ship "Victory" be pursued by the United States Navy Department in the case of the frigate "Constitution." Accordingly, we pray your Honorable Bodies that the necessary steps forthwith be taken for preserving the "Fighting Frigate" of 1812; that she be repaired and renewed, and once more put in commission to be used as a training-ship in connection with our Naval Academies; and that, navigated as such by the students of the Academies, she be made in future to visit at suitable seasons points along our coast where she may be easily accessible to that large

and ever-increasing number of American citizens who, retaining a sense of affection as well as of deep gratitude to her, feel also a patriotic and an abiding interest in the associations she will never cease to recall.

And your Memorialists will ever pray, etc.

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, *President*,
SAMUEL A. GREEN, *Vice-President*,
JAMES FORD RHODES, *Second Vice-President*,
EDWARD STANWOOD, *Recording Secretary*,
HENRY W. HAYNES, *Corresponding Secretary*,
CHARLES C. SMITH, *Treasurer*,
GRENVILLE HOWLAND NORCROSS, *Cabinet Keeper*,
JAMES FROTHINGHAM HUNNEWELL,
JAMES DE NORMANDIE,
THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON,
ALBERT BUSHNELL HART,
THOMAS LEONARD LIVERMORE,
ROGER BIGELOW MERRIMAN,

Members constituting the Council of the Society.

Boston, January 11, 1906.

Mr. Edwin D. Mead was elected a Resident Member.

Mr. Charles C. Smith said he had received a letter from our associate Hon. HENRY CABOT LODGE, now in Washington, which, at his request, he communicated to the Society.

UNITED STATES SENATE, Dec. 28, 1905.

MY DEAR MR. SMITH, — In the last volume of our Proceedings, which I received day before yesterday, I have just read Mr. Sanborn's valuable paper upon the Reverend Samuel Langdon, President of Harvard College. I have read it with great pleasure and interest, and it is of especial interest to me on account of my relationship with the Langdons. My great-grandfather on my father's maternal side was John Langdon. Together with Henry Knox he was an apprentice with Wharton and Bowes, booksellers, in Boston. He then set up in business for himself in Cornhill, but at the outbreak of the War of the Revolution gave up his business and raised a company which took part in the Rhode Island campaign. He also served for three years in the Continental Army, coming out with the rank of Captain. He married the daughter of Thomas Walley and was a brother of Joanna Langdon, who was the mother of Nathaniel Langdon Frothingham. It was this family connection which led me to notice a slight error in Mr. Sanborn's account of the Langdons. He speaks of "Nathaniel Langdon, a Boston inn-keeper, in the first half of the eighteenth century" as "the first cousin of Mrs. Andrew Eliot, and the second cousin of Dr. Langdon the Pres-

ident of Harvard College." This Nathaniel Langdon was my great-grandfather's father. He was an uncle of Mrs. Eliot and the first cousin once removed of President Langdon of Harvard. This error is entirely trifling, but as the statement in the Proceedings indicated that Mr. Sanborn was intending to put his memoir in a more extended form, which I sincerely trust he will do, I thought it possible that he might like to make this little correction. It is, as I have said, a very great pleasure to me that Mr. Sanborn has prepared this careful and excellent account of Dr. Langdon, who was not only a scholar and a faithful and devoted minister, but a thoroughly patriotic man and an ardent Whig. Several of his kindred like my great-grandfather were in the War of the Revolution, and the whole family seems to have been zealous on the patriotic side. Dr. Eliot's very unjust account of him in connection with the resignation of the Presidency of the College has drifted down the stream of local history, producing a wholly false impression upon those who read that history in regard to a man who took charge of the College at a great personal sacrifice and whose character and abilities were really beyond reproach. To those who claim kinship with him it is most gratifying to have him so thoroughly and fully vindicated as has been done in Mr. Sanborn's paper. It was Dr. Langdon who made the prayer before the troops when they were drawn up on Cambridge Common on the evening of June 16th, just before they started on their march to Bunker Hill. I think that Mr. Sanborn has not mentioned this little incident, which has always seemed to me one of the most interesting of Dr. Langdon's life.

Sincerely yours,

H. C. LODGE.

CHARLES C. SMITH, Esq.

Mr. CHARLES H. DALTON read the following letter which he had addressed to the Hon. W. Murray Crane with regard to the postage stamps in use by the United States government:

BOSTON, January 4, 1906.

HON. W. MURRAY CRANE, United States Senate.

DEAR SIR, — In 1903 the Post Office Department retired the two-cent stamp bearing the profile head of Washington taken from the Hudson statue, which had been in use for many years, and substituted the design of a front face taken from Stuart's portrait.

The Department presumably approved of the artistic qualities of the latter stamp and issued it to the country. It was, however, so generally criticised by the public, as giving a senile expression to a noble face, that it was withdrawn as soon as new plates could be made.

The stamps now in use are from the second plate and are only somewhat less objectionable than those from the first one.

When the first of these new stamps appeared, I wrote to the department, advising that the plates be condemned and that the former ones with the Houdon profile be used, not only for the two-cent stamps but for all other denominations, with variations in colors and numerals, with the single exception of the one-cent stamp, which should continue to bear the profile head of Franklin because he was the founder of the United States postal system.

My letter was referred to the Third Postmaster-General, having jurisdiction in the matter, who replied at length (addressing the Postmaster-General) saying that a new design was being made which would be "simple, dignified, and rich" (the one now in use) and objecting to the proposed general use of one head for the following reasons: First, because there are so many "noted Americans who are worthy of such recognition." Second, because dissimilarity and variety of design facilitate handling by postal employees, both in the selling of stamps and in the rapid assorting, rating, and despatch of mail matter; that the American method of administration requires more attention than any other country, and furthermore that the Stuart front-face portrait was lately substituted for the Houdon profile, because the former was best known to the great majority of people; that the portrait was taken from life, while the Houdon head was "ideal, not a likeness of a living being, but of a bust."

In respect to these reasons it is submitted that the policy of using postage stamps for honoring noted Americans as from time to time the Third Assistant Postmaster-General may think to be desirable, is objectionable, because the official for the time being is not the proper authority to decide as to who is most worthy of such national recognition, and the power may be easily misapplied, and, while gratifying to some people or sections, may not be to others.

As to the second reason. It is the policy of many governments to use but one head or design on all stamps, often that of the chief of the country for the time being, the different denominations being indicated by variations in color, numerals, and, when necessary, titles. This custom would not have become so general if it were found to conflict with the highest standard of administration.

The trained eye distinguishes the various stamps by color and numerals rather than by the features of the subject. The American postal clerk is no doubt as capable as the foreign one.

As to the statement that the United States Post Office requires more attention than that of any other country. Since the accession of King Edward VII. the British Post Office has issued several hundred new stamps, all bearing his profile portrait, for use at home and in dependencies, differentiated by colors, numerals, and titles. I am told that the entire series will number considerably over one thousand. Most of

these varieties pass through the London Post Office. There are less than twenty United States Stamps in common use.

The British Post Office also supplies stamps for internal revenue use, conducts savings banks, the telegraph and telephone service, a parcel post, etc. It cannot therefore be justly claimed that the United States Postal Department is more difficult to administer than the British.

While many other countries change their postal stamps with each successive reign, the United States should have the distinction of never changing and of using in perpetuity, as its postal emblem, the heads of its two most illustrious citizens. These emblems, coeval with the foundation of the government, are equally appropriate for foreign and domestic use, illustrating the origin and permanence of the nation.

It is to the credit of the Republic of Chili to have fixed by law that the only design on its postage stamps shall be the head of Columbus.

In respect to the Houdon head. In 1784 the Virginia Legislature decreed a marble statue of Washington to be placed in the Capitol in Richmond. Jefferson and Franklin, being then in Paris, were authorized to select the artist. They chose Houdon.

Jefferson wrote to the Virginia delegation in Congress, "He [Houdon] is the first statuary of his age," and to Washington, "He comes now for the purpose of lending the aid of his art to transmit you to posterity. He is without rivalship in it, being employed in all parts of Europe in whatever is capital."

Washington wrote to Franklin from Mount Vernon, "When it suits M. Houdon to come hither, I will accommodate him in the best manner I am able and shall endeavor to render his stay as agreeable as I can"; and to Houdon, "It will give me pleasure, Sir, to welcome you to this seat of my retirement, and whatever I have or can procure that is necessary to your purposes or convenient or agreeable to your wishes, you must freely command, as inclination to oblige you will be among the last things in which I shall be found deficient, either on your arrival or during your stay"; and to Mr. Jefferson, "I shall take great pleasure in showing M. Houdon every civility and attention in my power during his stay in this country"; and to Lafayette, "I have now to thank you for your favors of the 9th and 14th July, the first by M. Houdon, who stayed no more than a fortnight with me, and to whom, for his trouble and risk in crossing the seas, although I had no agency in the business, I feel myself under personal obligations."

Jefferson wrote to Washington that he was happy to find that he (Washington) approved of the modern dress for the statue, and that it was also the sentiment of West, Copley, Trumbull, and Brown, then in London.

Houdon reached Mt. Vernon October 17, 1785. He made studies of Washington, took life masks of his face, head, and upper parts of his

body, minute measurements of his person, and studies of the costume of the period which Washington daily wore. He was three years in completing his work. Lafayette pronounced the statue "a facsimile of Washington's person."

The head is "ideal" in the sense of being a perfect reproduction of the features of the illustrious subject while living, but not in the sense of being a work of the imagination. As a work of art it is likely to last for the admiration of future generations long after contemporary canvas and paint have disappeared.

Stuart's portrait is recognized as admirable, both as a work of art and as a truthful likeness, and is a priceless possession.

The artist himself generously acknowledged the value of Houdon's work. In 1825, referring to the statue, he said to Mr. Longacre, that the head was "ideal," and asked Mr. L. to recall its proportions as a test of the correctness of his portrait, then before them. It may be said that much of the value of a painting is due to its color, which, when reproduced in monocolour, is lost.

The estimate with which a contemporary Congress regarded Houdon's work appears by its action in ordering made and presenting to Washington the historic medal in commemoration of the siege and evacuation of Boston by the British, March 17, 1776, which was done in Paris, bearing a profile head of Washington modelled from Houdon's Mt. Vernon cast. "This medal, the only one of Washington ordered by Congress, may be considered, both in an historical and artistic point of view, the most important of the entire Washington series."¹

The medal remained in the possession of Washington's descendants until 1876, when it was purchased by fifty citizens of Boston and presented to the city and is now in the Public Library.

The first official United States postal stamp was of three cents, issued 1847, bearing Washington's head from Stuart's painting. It was withdrawn 1851, and replaced by the profile head of Houdon's statue.

Each successive official can, under existing rules, change the stamps at his pleasure, and is tempted to do so to distinguish his administration or to express his appreciation of his noted countrymen or for other reasons. An official decision, as such, as to which is the best or best-known portrait of Washington, for example, can have no especial value. The engraver of and dealers in stamps are the persons chiefly interested in these frequent changes.

It is respectfully suggested that Congress provide that the Post Office Department shall use the profile head of Franklin only, on all one cent stamps, envelopes, wrappers, etc., and the profile head of Houdon's statue of Washington for all other denominations, differentiated by colors and numerals; that the stamps shall be without any

¹ Medallion Portraits of Washington, p. 27: W. S. Baker, 1885.

unnecessary names, dates, or ornamentation, and of a severe simplicity in design.

The two-cent stamp in use three years since is a good example of these qualities, though it might be improved by having the words "two cents" in straight instead of in curved lines.

I remain, Sir, your obedient servant,

CHARLES H. DALTON.

The authority for statements in respect to the Washington correspondence and the Houdon statue is a pamphlet entitled "Washington: His Person as represented by the Artists, the Houdon Statue, its History and Value," by Sherwin McRea, 1873, published by order of the Virginia Senate, a copy of which is in the Public Library.

Memoranda

Of the various issues of United States postage stamps from 1847 to 1904, not including newspaper and periodical stamps, stamped envelopes, post cards or pictorial stamps for expositions, etc., or stamps not in general use and valuable only to collectors and dealers, nor those of changes in color only. Contributed by Mr. F. Apthorp Foster, compiled from the collection of his father, Mr. Francis C. Foster, of Cambridge, — one of the most complete and valuable collections in the country.

Issued in 1847, Washington 1, Franklin 1	2
" " 1851 to 1860 Various	8
" " 1861 " 1869 "	13
" " 1870 " 1883 "	16
" " 1890 " 1899 "	24
" " 1902 " 1904 "	19
" " 1873 " 1879 (Departmental not now in use)	82
Total	164

It will be observed that the three years, 1902 to 1904, have been more prolific of new stamps than any others.

The 164 different stamps represent twenty-four subjects and are distributed as follows: —

Washington	25
(averaging nearly one every $2\frac{1}{2}$ years)	
Franklin	19
Jefferson	15

Jackson	14
Lincoln	14
Clay	11
Webster	11
Hamilton	9
Perry	9
Scott	8
Stanton	5
Garfield	4
Seward	4
Grant	3
Madison, Marshall, Sherman, 2 each	6
Martha Washington, Monroe, Livingston, Taylor, Harrison, Farragut, and McKinley, 1 each	7
Total	<hr/> 164

Stuart's Portraits of Washington

"The Athenæum portraits were ordered for Mrs. Washington. A family tradition says they were intended by her as a gift to her eldest grand-daughter, Elizabeth Parke Law; but the artist, it has been charged, wishing to retain them, resorted to the subterfuge of never quite finishing the backgrounds, while the heads were completed in his best manner. Stuart's explanation is given by Mr. Neagle, the artist, in these words:—

'Mrs. Washington called often to see the General's portrait, and was desirous to possess the painting. One day she called with her husband, and begged to know when she might have it. The General himself never pressed it; but on this occasion, as he and his lady were about to retire, he returned to Mr. Stuart, and said he saw plainly of what advantage the picture was to the painter (who had been constantly employed in copying it; and Stuart said he could not work so well from another); he therefore begged the artist to retain the painting *at his pleasure*.'

"Miss Stuart says that the copies made of the originals were for Mount Vernon.

"There seems to be sufficient evidence that Stuart determined on keeping this beautiful head,—his 'nest-egg,' as he termed it. Mrs. Elizabeth Bordley Gibson said that she had often heard the matter discussed at Mount Vernon, and that the President called several times at the studio, requesting that the picture should be sent home; but Stuart always made the excuse that it was not finished. At last, in a ruffled manner, the President curtly said to the artist, 'Well, Mr. Stuart, I will not call again for this portrait; when it is finished, send it to me.'

"Stuart was disappointed in realizing the large price he expected

for these portraits. It is said that an English gentleman offered ten thousand dollars for them soon after the sitting, which was refused; and, not long before the artist's death, the State of Massachusetts wished to purchase them, offering two thousand dollars. They remained in possession of his family until October 1831, when they were bought from his widow for fifteen hundred dollars by the Washington Association of Boston and other subscribers, and presented to the Boston Athenæum. These chef-d'œuvres have recently been transferred for more perfect security, with other paintings of the Athenæum Collection, to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston." — *Original Portraits of Washington* by Elizabeth Bryant Johnston, Boston, 1882, pp. 84, 85.

January 5, 1906.

MR. CHARLES H. DALTON,
33 Commonwealth Ave., Boston.

MY DEAR SIR, — I have read with much interest the monograph on postage stamps which you intend to forward to the Honorable W. Murray Crane, Senator from Massachusetts, with a view to securing legislation which will limit the design on all United States postage stamps to a representation of the features of our illustrious countrymen, Washington and Franklin.

Complying with your request that I should express my opinion on this subject, I beg to say that, as an official of the Post Office Department, it would not become me to call into question the practice, which has so long prevailed at the Department, of changing the design on our postage stamps from time to time and commemorating thereby some of our other distinguished men; but speaking in a personal way, I have no hesitation in commending the idea for its unity and simplicity.

Very respectfully yours,

GEO. A. HIBBARD,
Postmaster.

MR. EDWARD STANWOOD read the following paper: —

The Massachusetts Election in 1806.

Every free country in the early days of self-government passes through a period when political chicanery and electoral fraud are practised shamelessly, and if successful are tolerated and go unpunished. We need only refer to the parliamentary scandals in England during the early part of the last century, the enormous and successful frauds in the United States at a later period, and what we now see going on in Cuba, to illustrate the general truth. Massachusetts has not been free from the reproach. Perhaps no better indication of the state

of political morality in the Commonwealth a century ago can be discovered than is afforded by the State election in 1806.

At the annual election in April, 1805, Caleb Strong was chosen governor and Edward H. Robbins lieutenant-governor. They were Federalists. A clear majority of votes was then and for a long time afterward required to effect an election. Strong's majority was about 4,000. But Jefferson was President, and the Federalist majority in the State had already suffered an important diminution. The manipulation of the national offices and the desire to be on the winning side had the usual effect. Early in the spring the Democrats — or Republicans, as they were indifferently called — made loud boasts that they would win the election. At the March town meeting in Boston, which was vigorously contested, the Federalists were successful by nearly two to one, — not far from the ordinary proportion. But it is clear from the expressions used by the "Columbian Centinel" and particularly from the free use of italics and capitals by that paper, that the Federalists were really alarmed.

At a "large and respectable meeting of Federalists from different parts of the Commonwealth," Governor Strong and Lieutenant-Governor Robbins were nominated for re-election. The Democrats nominated James Sullivan for governor and William Heath for lieutenant-governor. General Heath had been the anti-Federal candidate for the position many years, Sullivan for two or three years past. The campaign was a hot one. The two parties hurled charges at each other, and the same were thrown back with scorn and vituperation. The accused persons frequently denounced their accusers by name as unprincipled liars. Yet not all the accusations were denied. The "Independent Chronicle," the Democratic newspaper of Boston, made it a matter of political complaint against Governor Strong that in his last Thanksgiving proclamation he omitted from the list of causes of thankfulness to Almighty God "the great interposition of Heaven in our behalf, in the release of our brethren from slavery in Tripoli." The "Centinel" admitted that the fact was as stated, but justified the governor on the ground that the treaty with the ex-Bashaw of Tripoli, which secured the release of the Americans who were stranded on the shore of that country and made prisoners of war, was "precipitate, impolitic, and disgraceful." Indeed the Federal-

ists in Washington had made a party question of the ratification of the treaty, which they strongly opposed.

Again, it was urged against Strong that on the arrival of General Gage, in Boston, early in 1774, he had been one of the signers of an address of welcome to the new governor. This also was admitted to be true. The address was prepared before it was known what manner of man the new governor was. But the crushing reply was made that when General Gage, in accordance with the provisions of the Boston Port Bill, removed the capital of Massachusetts to Salem, another address was presented to him there, and among the signers of that address were a dozen or more of those who in 1806 were leading Democrats of Salem.

The election took place on the 7th of April. At first it seemed certain that the Federalists had elected Strong; but owing to the tendency — a tendency, it may be remarked, which continues to this day — on the part of many voters to neglect to cast a vote for minor officers, there was a doubt if Robbins had been re-elected, and a hope or a fear, according to one's partisan preferences, that Heath had been chosen lieutenant-governor. Returns came in slowly. It was two or three weeks before the returns from Massachusetts proper were nearly all received, and still longer before all the towns in the District of Maine reported. When at last the vote of old Massachusetts was complete, it appeared that the majority for Strong in that part of the State was 4,223 as compared with a Federalist majority of 3,863 in 1805. But the majorities in the Maine towns were steadily eating away this majority, and the "Centinel" in its issue of April 30 exclaimed petulantly, "The question now is, Shall the *Squatters of Maine* impose a governor on Massachusetts?"

The "Chronicle" promptly accused the "Centinel" of having sneered at the people of Maine, as a whole, as "squatters," but the "Centinel" made an ineffective disclaimer to the effect that it referred to those only who had recently come into the State and had not imbibed the principles of Massachusetts — by which, of course, it meant that they had not been members of the community long enough to become Federalists.

The "Centinel's" final figures, based on the official returns, were:

Whole number of votes for governor	75,313
Necessary for a choice	37,657
Caleb Strong	37,833
James Sullivan	37,220
Scattering	260

The majority claimed (176) was not great, but was sufficient if these figures could stand. It was admitted that Heath was elected lieutenant-governor. The Senate was elected at the same time as the governor, but the House of Representatives was not. The Maine Senators were most of them Democrats, and the count for the whole State stood Democrats 20, Federalists 19, and one vacancy in the county of York. The other York senators were Democrats, but one of the candidates of that party failed of a majority. The vacancy was to be filled by joint vote of the General Court.

Early in the interval between the election and the ascertainment of the result there were dark whisperings and some open assertions that the Democrats would have the governorship. "You can't tell who will be governor until after election," was a common saying of the time, the point of which was in the custom of calling the day of the installation of the governor "Election Day."¹

The Democratic newspapers began to urge those of their party in all the towns to send representatives to Boston. The constitution of the House of Representatives was very different then from what it is now. Every town having 150 ratable polls, and all towns of whatever population incorporated before the formation of the Constitution in 1780, were entitled to send one representative each, and an additional member for each 225 additional polls. Inasmuch as the towns paid their representatives in the early days, it had become the habit of the poorer towns to refuse to elect a member in years when there was no question impending of interest to them. Now there was an urgent call by the

¹ To this period also belongs an event which is memorable in the annals of this Society. James Sullivan was the first president of the Society and acted in that capacity from its foundation in 1791 until 1806. But so strong was partisan feeling at that time that his deposition from the position was resolved upon by the Federalists, and at the annual election in April Christopher Gore was chosen president. According to Sullivan's biographer, Thomas C. Amory, there were but nine members present, "one of whom was afterward expelled." The "Centinel," in a two-line paragraph, states that Mr. Gore was unanimously elected.

leaders of each party upon all the towns to send members to Boston. The Democrats were first in the field and profited most by the unusual activity. Boston chose 27 members, all on one ticket, and there was no opposition to the Federalists. The full House, as it was constituted that year, numbered 481, and when the body met for organization Perez Morton, Democrat, was chosen Speaker by 257 votes to 204 for Harrison Gray Otis, Federalist, the Speaker in 1805. In the Senate one member was absent and there was a tie between Timothy Bigelow, the President in 1805, Federalist, and John Bacon, Democrat, each of whom had 19 votes. The deadlock was not broken until the legislature had chosen a Democrat to fill the York vacancy, when Mr. Bacon was elected, and thereafter throughout the session every party question was decided by 20 to 19, in favor of the Jeffersonians.

In accordance with custom the votes for governor and lieutenant-governor were referred to a joint committee to be canvassed. Contrary to custom, the committee was constituted of five Democrats and two Federalists. On the 5th of June an extraordinary report was submitted to the Senate. The committee proposed, as was customary, to throw out the votes of several towns whose returns were not sealed or not duly certified, or otherwise technically informal. But further than that it dealt in a remarkable way with the returns of some other towns. There were two returns from Troy, — now Fall River. One of them, purporting to be signed by the selectmen and town clerk, returned all the votes of the town, 50 in number, for Strong. The other signed by other persons representing themselves as town clerk and selectmen, returned all the votes, numbering about 60, for Sullivan. No explanation of this remarkable circumstance is given, and it would probably not be easy to ascertain the truth. But it may be conjectured that at the March town meeting rival lists of town officers were voted, that each party claimed the election, that there were rival elections in April, and that all the Federalists voted at one and all the Democrats at the other. However that may be, it needs no other evidence than the returns themselves to prove that neither of the two returns could be a true statement of the proper vote of Troy. The Federalists on the legislative committee urged that an inquiry should be made as to who were the town officers of Troy, but this was refused,

and without any evidence at all the committee by a party vote decided that the Democratic return was the true return of Troy.

The case of New Bedford was still more singular than that of Troy. The actual majority for Strong in the town was 266. The town clerk, after having made up his return, duly signed by himself and the selectmen, and sent to Boston, recollected that he had made a clerical error. He had entered the Democratic votes as having been given for James Sullings. He therefore made another return certifying to the same number of votes for the several candidates as in the original return, but correcting the wrongly spelled name, procured the signatures of the selectmen, and forwarded that also to Boston. The committee professed to be unable to decide which was the correct return, and threw them both out.

In the returns of two towns the name of Governor Strong was misspelled. The name of Sullivan was misspelled in the returns of thirty-one towns. The ingenuity of the committee was equal to making these errors advantageous to the Democratic cause. They adopted the arbitrary rule that where the spelling conformed to the sound of the name the votes should stand, but not otherwise. Consequently they rejected the votes for Strong in returns wherein the name was spelled in the one case Srong and in the other Stoon or Stron, rejected Sullivan votes in two towns in which the name was spelled Sulvan, and retained all votes for Sullivan which were returned for Sulivan, or Sullivan, or any other incorrect form.

Having dealt thus with the returns, they made the account stand as follows:

Whole number of votes	73,410
Necessary for choice	36,706
Caleb Strong	36,692
James Sullivan	36,031
James Sulvan	357
Scattering	330

Strong thus was made to lack fourteen votes of an election. The committee reported that there was no choice for governor, but that Heath was elected lieutenant-governor by 976 majority, in a total of 71,807.

When the report was taken up in the Senate, the Federalists

made the most strenuous efforts to procure a reversal of the decisions of the committee. Any change whatever would give the election to Strong: rejection of the Troy returns, acceptance of either New Bedford return, or any departure from the singular rule of the committee with respect to names misspelled by careless town clerks. Much was made by them of the absurdity of entering the name of James Sulvan as one of the four "constitutional candidates" from whom the General Court was to choose a governor. Every one knew that there was no such person. But the Democratic Senators stood firm. Not one of them failed to stand by the report, and every proposition to amend it was rejected by a vote of 20 to 19. After several days of debate it was accepted and sent to the House of Representatives.

The only reason that was given for the decision of the committee was that the Federalist committee of the previous year had set the example by counting as scattering votes where the name of the candidate was misspelled by the town clerk. The Federalists thought it made a great difference whether that rule was adopted in a case where the result was not affected, or in this case where the result of the popular vote was to be nullified and the election thrown into the General Court. That is a nice question which we are not called upon to decide.

In the lower branch the effort to amend was renewed. A very small number of Democrats broke away from their associates and voted against the barefaced attempt to purloin the election. Nevertheless there was in each case a sufficient majority against amendments.

A passage in the newspaper report of the debate in the House indicates that in the parliamentary procedure a century ago a motion now obsolete was in use. Mr. King, of Bath, "moved that the debate subside," and — so it is reported — "the motion to subside prevailed."

But public opinion outside the State House was rising, and members began to feel the effect of it. There were many self-respecting Democrats who were opposed to the dishonorable political trick that had been plotted. Accordingly, when the Federalists discovered a return which should have been rejected according to the rules of the committee, and which, being rejected, would leave Strong a majority, they welcomed the chance to retreat from an untenable position. The re-

turn of Lincolnville, in the Maine county of Hancock, did not specify the day on which the votes for governor were given. It was also showed that the return of Cambridge was not sealed in open town meeting. A motion to reject these returns was carried unanimously, the whole matter was recommended, and the state of the vote afterward reported thus:—

Whole number of votes	72,784
Necessary for a choice	36,393
Caleb Strong	36,433

Caleb Strong's majority by this statement was 40, and he was declared to be elected. He was installed in office, but had a rather unhappy year of it, with a council and both branches of the legislature violently against him.

During the entire contest Sullivan does not appear to have taken any part in the matter. Amory intimates, but gives no authority for his supposition, that he was opposed to the attempt to count him in, and that the weakening of the Democrats was due to his disinclination to take an office to which another had really been chosen. This may well be so. But Amory is rather disingenuous in leaving his readers to suppose that the Democrats took the initiative in securing the rejection of the Lincolnville and Cambridge votes, which brought about the declaration that Strong was elected. That was the work of the Federalists, and the Democrats merely acquiesced.

It is not the least singular feature of this election, although it has nothing to do with the legislative contest here narrated, that General Heath, who had been the Democratic candidate for lieutenant-governor for several years, and had not objected to his own candidacy, declined the election, and the office remained vacant during the year. In his letter declining the office and giving his reasons therefor, he spoke of his long public service, and of the dark days of the country which he had witnessed. "I now see her," he said, "under a wise and patriotic administration of the general government." "We ask," snorted the "Centinel," "does he mean to insinuate that he has not before seen her under a wise and patriotic administration?"

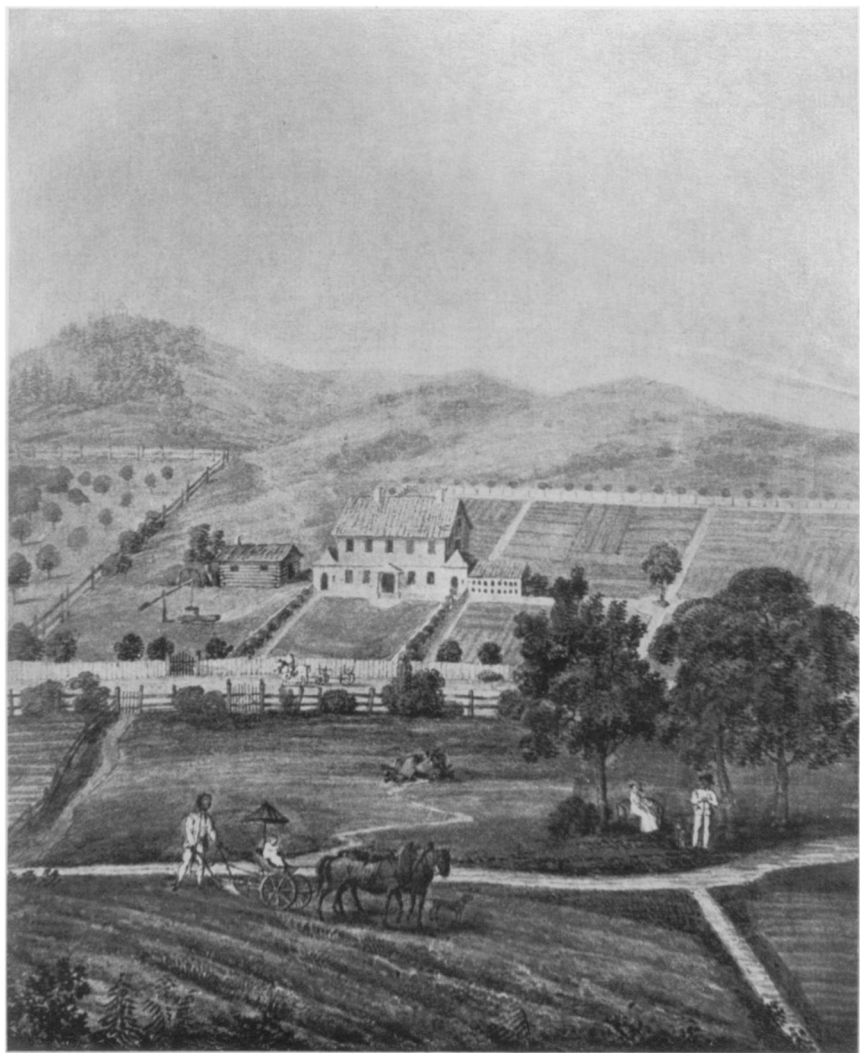
Such were some of the amenities of politics in the good old times under Thomas Jefferson.

The PRESIDENT said that Mrs. William B. Rogers, a daughter of the late Hon. James Savage, had, as the result of a correspondence carried on during the last six months, given an order for a marble bust of her father, a replica of that in the possession of the Provident Institution for Savings, of which he was one of the principal founders, and that it would be put in place in the Dowse Library before the Annual Meeting. The President added that this action on the part of Mrs. Rogers was to him, personally, peculiarly gratifying. Mr. Savage had been President of the Society from 1841 to 1855, and Mr. Winthrop from 1855 to 1885. It was obviously proper, for reasons unnecessary to dwell upon at this time, that busts of the two should occupy corresponding positions of prominence in the room in which the Society held its meetings. He had so represented to Mrs. Rogers, and she had most graciously acceded to the suggestion. It afforded him much satisfaction to be able to make the announcement.

Mr. FRANKLIN B. SANBORN presented a photograph of the farmhouse and grounds of St. John de Crèveceur, the "American Farmer," near Cornwall, on the Hudson, from an aquarelle by himself drawn about 1778. He then read portions of a letter lately written to Mr. S. O. Todd, of St. Johnsbury, by Madame de Crèveceur, widow of the "American Farmer's" biographer, speaking of his extant and lost papers, as follows:—

M. de Crèveceur (Robert St. John, the biographer of the "American Farmer") was very proud of the American record of his family, and he would have been much pleased at the renewal of the popularity of his ancestor, whose sortie from forgetfulness he had helped forward. His dearest wish was to see his book appreciated in America.

I much desire that my eldest son should decide himself to visit the United States, taking with him the documents that will interest you. Unfortunately the manuscripts of the works published by the "American Farmer" no longer exist; they were lost during the French Revolution. I never heard my husband speak of the designing of the State seal of Vermont. All the letters in our possession written in English have been translated or read, and I have quite complete notes of their contents. Dr. Turner, who gave us the pleasure of his company to dinner a few days since, brought us a letter, from Mr. Sanborn, asking information about the map drawn by St. John de Crèveceur (1757-8) and presented to King Louis XVI. It is in the archives of national



RESIDENCE OF HECTOR ST. JOHN DE CREVECOEUR.

maps in the War Department (General Staff). My son will attend to it, and will try to have a copy made.

Permit me to add to this letter a photograph of the Pine Hill Farm, made by one of my sons from the painting made by the Farmer, with this inscription: "Plantation of Pine Hill, the first tree of which was cut down A. D. 1779. County of Orange, Colony of New York."

MARIE DE CRÈVECŒUR.

120 Rue de Longchamp, Paris, Dec. 25.

Incidental remarks were made during the meeting by Messrs. SAMUEL A. GREEN, THOMAS W. HIGGINSON, and ALBERT B. HART.